Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.
Dr. Channing.

[BY BURTON CRAIGE.] SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY MAY 4, 1833. [VOL. XIII....NO. 674.

TERMS

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POLITICAL.

FROM THE NORFOLK HERALD.

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

No. 3.

The People of the several revolted colonies of Great Britain, having become free sovereign and independent States, in the manner stated in my last number, must necessarily continue to be such sovereigns now, unless they have done or suffered some act, since this their sovereignty was assumed, whereby its rights and powers have been annulled. Have they done or suffered any such act? This is the question, which in my last number I proposed to examine in this. But a re-perusal of the Proclamation of the President, since this promise was made, having shown me, what I had not before observed, that doubts are therein cast upon the truth of my proposition which asserted the primitive sovereignty of the several States, although this is often admitted, by necessary implication at least, in many other parts of this very instrument itself. I think it right to endeavor to remove all these doubts, before I proceed further in the execution of the task I have undertaken.

During the various discussions, which the agitation of the questions as to the extent of the legitimate powers of the present government of the United States called forth, in former days, this asserted original sovereignty of the States was admitted and claimed by both sides, and made the very basis of all the arguments of Federalists and Democrats respectively. To these discussions, there was then brought, to either party as much of zeal, of industry, of wisdom, and of laborious research, as has ever been manifested in this country, before or since; and the discussions were conducted on either hand, by many of the patriots of the Revolution who were familiar with all its events, because they had been actors and advisers in that great scene *ab initio*. Nay it used to be then contended by either party, that the jealous retainer by the states of their primitive rights of sovereignty, caused the necessity for the then new Federal Constitution. But like Moliere's mock "*nous avons change tout cela*," and the new College of Politicians, having younger and of course wiser heads, have of late discovered that all this was a mistake.

The fashionable doctrines of the present day, seems to be, that *These states never were sovereign*; that there was, from the beginning, some great Central Sovereign power, abiding somewhere else than in the several States, of which they were subjects, and all their people lieges. In illustration of this new doctrine, the Proclamation says, that "in our colonial state although dependent upon another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defence; and before the Declaration of Independence, we were known in our aggregate character af the United Colonies of America. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts."

The exceeding caution in which this passage is penned, its intended assertions of doctrines, while seeming to narrate facts, merely, and the opening, it obviously and designedly leaves for escape from these doctrines, be thereafter controverted, may perhaps excite the admiration of minds trained or training in the mazes of diplomacy. But when found in a State Paper, uttered by the Chief Magistrate, announced by him as being intended for the edification and instruction of those to whom it is addressed, it can never meet the approbation of the candid and ingenuous. Its obvious purpose is to assert, as a political dogma, that the revolted Colonies became one Sovereign nation, before they severally assumed sovereignty upon themselves as individual States; and to prove that the States never were sovereign. But as this new doctrine was in direct conflict with all our past opinions, and in seeming opposition to much of our past history, it would not do to blurt it in the public face at once as doctrine; therefore it is presented seemingly as a simple fact. Nay, it is not exhibited as a substantive fact, but in the modest guise of a mere inference from other facts. These other facts too, are asserted in selected terms of such broad and general signification, that it is difficult to fix their precise meaning.

If seeing the necessary tendency and effect of the doctrine designed to be put forth in this passage, any one denies its truth, such may immediately be met by the assertion, that it is not stated as doctrine, but as historical fact merely. If it be denied as such a fact, it may be immediately said, that it is not asserted as a substantive fact, but only as one inferred from others previously stated. If the correctness of this inference is questioned, then commences a discussion as to the true meaning of the words employed to state the facts from which the inference is made: and this discussion, if it convicts the author of error, will also furnish him an excuse for saying, that he is no scholar, not skilled in "metaphysical subtlety," and therefore, may have used terms inappropriate to convey, accurately, his own meaning, which, however, is precisely yours, but if the signification of the words employed in this apparent and simple narrative, is once admitted to be that in which they are obviously used, and if the facts themselves so taken are conceded, then no logical mind can escape from the conclusion derived from such facts, and the purpose of this argument, which is to disprove the original sovereign rights of the States, is fully attained.

The ingenuity of an argument thus constructed, undoubtedly has merit, but it is not such merit as ingenuous candor can ever claim. It imposes upon all who may deny its conclusion, the laborious task of unravelling a long tissue of supposed errors, and when they have done so, it exposes them to the sneer of having labored to disprove, what, it will then be said, was never affirmed. On the other hand, if they pass by such things unnoticed, they immediately fall into the snare laid for them, from which they cannot then easily extricate themselves. For one, I greatly prefer to undertake the labor, and to subject myself to the sneer, than to incur the other hazards. Therefore, I will bring the whole of this narrative and argumentative passage to the test of a strict analysis. Its importance justifies, its art requires this.

The object of this argument, (confessed in its conclusion) is to prove, that *the People* of some of these now United States, while in their colonial state, declared themselves to be *a Nation*, by the Declaration of Independence, made in 1776, under which they became, "*One People*." The necessary and inevitable result of this would be, that the People having once resolved themselves into one Nation, could not thereafter create themselves into separate and independent sovereignties otherwise than by force, or by common consent. But as no one has presumed as yet, at least to establish or attempt to establish, sovereignty here, by force, and as there exists not the slightest memorial of any common consent on the part of this supposed nation, to its own dismemberment, therefore, the sovereignty of the states never could have existed. The author of this Proclamation, does not seem to have been aware of the fact, which I stated in my last number, that *before* the Declaration of Independence, in July 1776, the People of Virginia certainly, and of certain of the other colonies, I believe, had severally an independence, in totally dissolving their former government, and ordaining new governments for themselves respectively. But, if such a fact had been known to him, it would not have changed the intended effect of his conclusions; because, as this new Nation is said to have been created by the People, a part of which people the creators of state sovereignties were, their last act would of course have abrogated and annulled their first, and so put an end to the sovereignty which they had created but a short time before. So that the Sovereignty of all the States which had declared themselves sovereign before the Declaration of Independence in July 1776, is as certainly annulled, as the existence of the sovereignty of the States who had not then declared it, is prevented, by the mere assertion of this simple fact of our existence as one nation, if that fact was true. A matter so important in its consequences, ought not, and would not be conceded, to the mere say so of any man, although that man might be the President; therefore, it became indispensibly necessary, that he should prove it. Hence, the attempt to do so. Let me now examine what these proofs are.

As the object was to prove the existence of a Nation, the first step of the process must necessarily be to prove the pre-existence of a community. Government being superinduced upon this community, it would then become a nation, so far at least as all the members of that community were concerned. The first point to be proved then, was the existence of a community composed of all the people who were afterwards to become the subjects of the nation.—Now how is this established?

"In our colonial state," says the President, "although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other." A more flimsy pretext, from which to infer the existence of a single community, could not easily have been selected; and a more ingenious mode of getting up this pretext could not well have been devised. Mark, no social connection of any sort, is affirmed to have actually existed; it is merely said, that we very early *considered* ourselves as connected. And by what was this imaginary connection constituted; Were we inhabitants of a common territory, the vacant and unoccupied parts of which were admitted to all? No. Did we possess the same religious faith? No. Did there exist any one institution, which having been created or preserved by all, was therefore common to all? No. By what tie then did this People consider themselves to be connected, in their colonial state? Why, by the tie of a supposed *common interest*. No man before President Jackson, ever thought of inferring the existence of a community, from such a fact, which if he believed to be sufficient to produce that effect, would consolidate, probably, one half the People of the whole world into one community, and by so doing would dissolve more than the half of all the societies now existing, whose members do not even *consider* themselves as connected by any such tie.

But perhaps it will be said, that I do the President wrong, in supposing that he meant "*the People*," when he says "we;" that by this personal pronoun he did not mean to denote all the Colonists, in their individual, but in the social characters which they had long had, and which was denoted by the term Colonies. If so, this sentence becomes the simple annunciation of a well known historical fact, proved by numerous documents in our archives, that even in their colonial state, the several Colonies considered themselves as connected with each other by a common interest. But as all these documents while establishing this fact, establish also, that this belief of a common interest, was neither designed or ever supposed to amalgamate the different Colonies, by whom it was entertained into a single community, but merely to invite to their co operation, confederacy and union as distinct independent communities, it is not easy to discern how from such a fact the existence of a single community could be inferred. Therefore and as the use made of the assertion was afterwards manifest, I was bound to consider its meaning to be such as I have stated; especially as I found this word "we," in an address of the President to his "fellow citizens," the People.

So much for the first proposition of this argument, which if considered in one light asserts a truth directly in contradiction to its conclusion; and if considered in another, asserts not only an unknown fact, but one unimportant if it could be known. In which of these lights it was designed to be seen, let the rules of the English language, and the conclusion of the argument itself, determine.

Having inferred the existence of one great community, composed of all the People of the different revolting Colonies, while yet in their colonial state, the next step necessary to be taken in the argument designed to prove their subsequent existence as one Nation, was, to superinduce a government upon this great community: for a nation without a government, would indeed be a non-descript, as horrible in the Political, as any of the fabled monsters of the natural world.—Here, as before, it would not do to affirm the establishment of any such government, at the time referred to, that is to say, "in our colonial state," as a positive fact, for this would be in direct contradiction of the other affirmation, of our dependence on another power; & of such a fact too, there does not exist any scintilla of proof in any of our histories or state papers. Therefore, the existence of such a government, like that of the community, was to be inferred. Now from what is this second inference to be made?

"Leagues were formed for common defence," says the President; and as Leagues can only be formed by communities, acknowledging some government, authorised to speak and so to connect for them if the fact be conceded, that Leagues were formed by this great community, it establishes beyond doubt, not only the actual existence of such a community, but of its government too. But mark the caution displayed in this assertion also. The President does not say, in terms at least, that these Leagues were so formed, but most sedulously avoids to state by whom or with whom they were formed.—The cause of this obscurity is not difficult to be explained. If it had been asserted as an historical fact, that in their colonial state, the colonists being connected together as one community, had in that character, entered into any League, whatever, this fact could not have been, proved, simply because it neither is or could be true. But if it had been said, that these Leagues were formed by the different colonies with each other, as separate and independent communities, in asserting this well known historical truth, easily, to be proved by a reference to the Leagues themselves, the President would have dissolved completely his imaginary great community, and with it the government to regulate the affairs of this supposed Nation. Nay he then would have established, beyond doubt the separate and independent existence of the colonies, as acknowledged by themselves, in such Leagues. To avoid this dilemma, the author of this Proclamation, most cautiously suppresses the fact by whom and with whom these Leagues were made.—Yet as they were certainly made for "common defence," all those who may be disposed to believe that "we" in the first sentence denoted the Colonists as individuals, and not the Colonies as Communities, will of course conclude, that these Leagues were made by the same "we;" with some Community foreign to themselves.—While those who understand "we" in a different sense, will arrive at a conclusion diametrically opposed to this.—So much for the second member of this argument, which like the first, is either true or false, according to the meaning intended to be annexed by its author, to the words "we" and "our."

Having inferred the existence of a supposed Community, and also inferred a government for it, in the mode I have stated, the next thing needful, was to bestow a name upon this infant Nation. But as it would have been difficult to infer a name which could not have had any previous existence, the President was compelled to state this name positively.—Therefore, he next says that "before the declaration of independence, we were known in our aggregate character as The United Colonies of America." The attempt to infer any fact from any name merely, would be considered, generally, rather as an assumption than an inference. But to infer the fact of a single Nation, from the name of many United Colonies, or of many Colonies United, whether in America or any where else, is not only a groundless assumption, but a plain perversion of the meaning of words, unless *United* and *Consolidated*. The President seems to have been aware of this, therefore to do away, so far as he could, the effect of his own strong words United Colonies, used apparently to shew, that the Colonies were united and not consolidated into one Mass or Nation, he tells us, that "we were known in our *aggregate character*" by this name—Altho' I cannot help considering this phrase "aggregate character," as very infelicitious, especially when applied to United Colonies, yet I freely admit, that the excuse of the Rhetorician, may be found in the necessity the Politician has to employ it. There were two differing parties interested in the matter, he was desirous to please both, therefore, from the beginning of his argument, he had used terms so general, that either might apply them to their own side; but when he came to give a name to his Nation, he found that so clearly indicating that it was not one consolidated mass, but many distinct masses united, merely, it was necessary to weaken the force of this. Hence, he tells us, that although we were united by name, yet in character we were aggregated, that is to say, consolidated.

From what source the President may have derived his information as to aggregate character, except from its name, I know not. But if his information as to our character, is as inaccurate as his representation of our name, but little reliance should be paid to it. I have before me a copy of the Journal of the first Congress, which met at "the Carpenters' Hall in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday the 5th day of September, 1771." In this first and most authentic document, which any one can consult, to discover either their name or character, at that day, both the one and the other is thus described, "We the Delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, &c. &c. (naming each) deputed to represent them in a Continental Congress." Under this name, and in this character, was their first great act of Association entered, into, for non importation, non consumption, and non-exportation, and recommended 'to the Provincial Conventions, and to the Committees in the respective Colonies," to be carried into effect by them. Under the name and character of "the Delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New Hampshire, &c. (naming each) to consider of their grievances in General Congress," was their next great act, the Address to the People of Great Britain, uttered. Under the name and character of "we, the delegates of the Colonies of New Hampshire, &c. (naming each) deputed by the inhabitants of (the said Colonies, to represent them in a general Congress, to consult together, &c." was the Address to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, put forth. Under the name and character of "We, your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New Hampshire, &c. (naming each) in behalf of ourselves and of the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress," was the Address to the King adopted, which was the last act of that enlightened and patriotic body, the first Congress. In short there cannot be found a single act of the first Congress, in which that body denominated itself as "The United Colonies of America," or in which its members denominated themselves as delegates of or to any body of that name. So far from it, all these acts shew, upon their very face, that they were the acts of individuals, representing respectively not one, but several constituent bodies, and these individuals, as the representatives of such constituent bodies, respectively, were said to be assembled in a general Congress. In further proof of which, it may also be remarked, that the very first rule established to regulate the proceedings of this Congress, was "that in determining questions, each Colony or Province should have one vote," without any reference to the number of its delegates present, or of its importance in any sense whatever.

Upon such evidence, I think myself justified in saying, that altho' at some subsequent period, it may possibly be found, that the delegates united in a general Congress, in some of their ordinary proceedings, and for brevity's sake may perhaps have spoken of themselves as the delegates of the United Colonies, yet in all their solemn acts they are differently described. Thus in the most important paper which they could utter, the Commission to Gen. Washington as Commander in Chief, granted on the 17th June, 1775, they style themselves "The Delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, &c." (naming each as before) and by that name and in that character grant to him all the rights and authorities which he then acquired. Therefore, the President seems to have as little ground, for bestowing this new name of the United Colonies of America, upon all the revolted Colonies or Colonists of that day, as he has to bestow upon the Colonists any such aggregate character as that under which he is supposed to insert that they were then known.

Whether by the declaration of independence, uttered in 1776, either in the manner in which "that decisive and important step was taken," or in the language of that instrument," we declared ourselves a Nation," and so annulled or prevented all the sovereign rights of the States, is a question I should have examined in this number, except for the reason I have before stated. But, Mr. Editor, I have already occupied so much of your space, that I must not intrude upon it at present, further than to say, that this declaration, being the *first act* which occurs in our history, that can be, or is supposed to annul any of the Sovereign rights of the States, its minute examination made a part of my original plan, which will be prosecuted in my next number.

A VIRGINIAN.

NO. 4.

The Declaration of Independence uttered in 1776, was considered, at that day, as the most important act which had ever occurred in this Country, and subsequent time has not weakened the sentiment it was then intended to inculcate. We still continue to commemorate it annually, on the day of its date, when all the citizens of these now United States, join with one accord, in humble adoration and thanksgiving to that Divine Providence, under whose protection, the great truths it announces were afterwards maintained and established. But if the effect of this Declaration, was to consolidate all the then Colonies, by whose representatives it was made, as one nation, and to amalgamate their inhabitants into "One People," the Fourth day of July, instead of being celebrated as a Jubilee, would probably be spent much more appropriately in weeping and wailing. Was such the true nature and intended effect of this Declaration? This is the question I propose now to examine.

In speaking of this Declaration, the President says in his Proclamation, "that decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a Nation by a joint, not by several acts." It is obvious from this passage, that its author designed to establish the existence of a Nation, not less by the manner in which the Declaration was made, than by the actual assertions of this instrument itself: for not satisfied with stating that this step was taken *jointly*, he adds, that by such a joint act we *declared* ourselves a Nation. I will examine into the truth of each of these assertions, before I give my own views of the subject.

A joint act, *ex vi termini*, implies the co-operation of several agents, by whose united and joined agencies it has been produced. Hence, it would be a very great solecism, to speak of any act done by one agent only, as a joint act, and therefore, no corporate act, is ever properly described, as the joint act of a Corporation, even when such a body is composed of many members: for although the members may be many, the Corporation is but one, and the act, if a corporate act, must be performed by that one body only. It is not every act effected by the co-operation of several agents however that is properly termed a joint act.—Because although considered in reference to the number of its authors, every single act accomplished by the co-operation of several agents, must be their joint act, yet considered in reference to its intended effects, as these may be many, and attach to all, to each, or to some only of its agents, the act is regarded as either joint or several, according to the nature of these intended effects. But as the intent of the act, cannot possibly be inferred from the number of agents co-operating to its accomplishment, while it is admitted, that several as well as joint effects may and do result even from a joint act, the nature of such an act can only be ascertained from the intention of the agents. This intention must always be sought for, and generally, is best manifested, in the declarations of the agents employed to perform the act, especially when these declarations are uttered in the act itself, and of course at the time of performing it.

If these plain propositions, which every Tyro has hitherto acknowledged to be true, are still admitted to be correct, it will be found difficult certainly, any impossible probably, to reconcile them with the assertions of the President, when the effect intended to be produced by these assertions is remembered. The object in view in making these assertions, is to prove thereby, that by virtue of the Declaration of Independence we acknowledged ourselves to be one Nation. Hence, the President says "that decisive and important step was taken *jointly*." Now, if by this he means to say, merely, that this declaration was the work of many persons co-operating to produce it, no matter in what character they acted, he asserts a fact, so unimportant to his purpose and so familiar to every one, that it really seems almost ludicrous to utter it with such apparent gravity, if indeed it was necessary to state it at all. But if he means to be understood, as asserting, that this declaration was the joint act of the representatives of any single body, previously known as a Commonwealth or Nation, besides the historical error committed, he states what must be unintelligible to all, except to those who can comprehend how any single body can do any joint act. I should have been disposed to consider this sentence as a mere inaccuracy, caused by the precipitate haste in which this state paper was probably prepared, and therefore, to have passed it by unnoticed, but that it is in exact keeping with all the previous parts of this argument, and moreover, is in substance repeated more impressively, in the next sentence wherein it is said, that "we declared ourselves a Nation by *a joint* not by *several* acts." Now, if we were a Nation before the Declaration of Independence was uttered, (as it was the purpose of all the previous parts of this argument to prove,) it would have been impossible for us as a Nation, to proclaim this fact by any joint act: and if before that event occurred, we were not a Nation, but separate communities or individuals, it seems difficult to conceive, how we [whether the Colonies or Colonists] could have declared ourselves as a Nation, by any other than several acts.

The reason of all this mystification and apparent absurdity will be obvious when we come to consider the declarations actually made in the Declaration of Independence itself.—We shall then find, that this instrument, instead of proclaiming the Colonies to be one Nation, declared them to be "free and independent States," in terms. Hence, as it was impossible to infer the existence of one nation from such terms, in which this idea is so plainly and positively negatived, resort was had to the manner in which this declaration was made, and we are told, "that decisive and important step was taken *jointly*," and that "we declared ourselves a Nation by a *joint* not by *several* acts"—as if the plain and obvious meaning of the act itself, could be changed by any such extrinsic circumstances.

I have now done with this part of the argument of the President, the design of which is to show, that these States never were sovereign, in shewing that they constituted but parts of another sovereignty called the nation. I will now proceed to give my account of the declaration of independence; and therein to state, my ideas of its effects upon the several Colonies, who by their representatives, were parties to that instrument.

The true nature and intended effects of the Declaration, can never be understood, from a consideration of the manner in which it was executed, merely. Whether it was produced by the agency of one only, or by the joint agency of many, or by the several agencies of different persons co-operating to the same end, is of little consequence. Its object and intended effects must be inferred from its language, although if that is ambiguous, these may very properly be sought for in extraneous circumstances of any kind, whether these circumstances are found in the manner of the execution of the instrument, or in any thing else. Let us then turn to the act itself, and judge from its contents, of its end and object, before we attempt to discover these last in any other way.

When so examined, the Declaration of Independence seems to be a manifesto, addressed to the world, that is to say, to the civilized world, designed to inform it, of the pre-existence of a new event interesting to humanity, and of causes and circumstances which had occasioned the occurrence of this new fact. Like the Manifesto that generally accompanies or immediately follows every modern Declaration of War, which in announcing the new relations of the belligerents, and narrating how these have been produced, it so contains an implied appeal to other States, and to posterity, for the justification of those by whom this new state of things has been made necessary. Considered in this light it asserts nothing but what had previously existed, although but recently; and its object is confined to the justification of that pre-existing state of things which it so announces. If this was its purpose, it cannot be considered as creating any new community, as ordaining any new government, or bestowing any new name; but

is intended merely to announce the new condition in which former societies, under existing Governments, and names previously known is placed. Its sole end, is to justify to others, that new condition, which has been recently assumed by those who utter the manifesto. Whether this notion of the Declaration of Independence, be correct, must depend, mainly upon its language. Let me then examine what this is.

It commences by saying, that "when in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation"—Here then, confessedly, is an appeal to mankind, induced by the decent respect due to their opinions, designed to inform them of the fact of the dissolution of the political bands which had previously connected those making this appeal, with some other community.

Immediately following this introduction, comes the intended justification of this act. This consists of two parts; the assertion of certain general propositions, which the authors of this manifesto or appeal held to be self evident, requiring no proof to establish them; and the application of these general and self evident truths to the particular notorious historical facts existing in their case—which facts are concisely narrated. The general truths here announced, are those proclaimed in the Declaration of Rights previously promulgated in Virginia, some of which I have stated in a former number. They are, in brief, these:

That all men are created equal; and are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights among which are the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of their happiness—That to secure these unalienable rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness—That although these thing are true, yet prudence dictates, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed—But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such such government, and to provide new guards for their future security—Having thus shown the clear right and solemn duty to do the act, the performance of which they had announced, namely, the dissolution of the political bands that had formerly connected the authors of this manifesto, and their respective constituents, with another government, provided such a long train of abuses and usurpations, on the part of this other government, as they had referred to, existed—the Declaration next proceeds to set forth what were the abuses and usurpations, the previous occurrences of which would give point and special application to their asserted self evident truths, and so justify that act. The catalogue of these abuses and usurpations need not be repeated here. All men must admit, that if the facts stated therein, were true as stated, and if the general propositions affirmed, were correct as affirmed, they made together a perfect demonstration of that which they were intended to establish, that is to say, of the right to throw off the government of Great Britain, by which government these abuses and usurpations had been practised. But not content with this clear demonstration of a strict right, the authors of the Declaration go on to state further.

That in every stage of these oppressions they had petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; but that their repeated petitions, had been answered only by repeated injuries—That they had also appealed to the native justice and magnanimity of their British brethren, conjuring them by the ties of common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt their connexions and correspondence: but they too had been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity—Wherefore, they were bound to acquiesce in the necessity which denounced their separation, and to hold them as they hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

For all these reasons, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of their intentions, did, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, their respective Constituents, solemnly publish and *declare*, that these United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States—That they were absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain, was, and ought to be, totally dissolved—And that as Free and Independent States, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States might of right do.

This is a full and faithful abstract, of every thing contained in the Declaration of Independence, which any man can consider important or applicable to the question now under examination. For the truth of this assertion, I refer to the Declaration itself, happily, now in the hands of almost every freeman in this country—I appeal then, confidently, to every candid mind, to determine, whether there is one word uttered, or one thought expressed, or even implied, throughout the whole of this important, clear and able State paper, to countenance the idea, that it could have been designed by its authors, to incorporate the several Communities therein for the first time styled the United States of America, into one Nation! Whether it does not affirm, that the Colonies represented in the Congress, which produced this act, were, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States—And whether it could have had any other end or aim than what I have stated, that is to say, to declare and make manifest to the world, what was the condition of these States; and in tracing the causes which had produced this condition, to justify before the world the position they had already assumed.

I ask of the Constitutional Lawyer, to tell me, whether any act, professing as this does, to be *declaratory* of what is, and of right ought to be, can properly be considered as an instrument ordaining the existence of that which it declares merely? I ask of any Politician, even of the new School, to tell me, in frankness, whether, at that time, the delegates of any Colony, assembled in a general Congress, could have had any authority to extinguish the rights of their Constituents, by amalgamating them with others, into one Nation, except under their credentials and instructions?—Should he say, as speaking in that spirit, he must say, that they could not have had authority derived from any other source, I then refer to these credentials and instructions, to shew, that all of them contained expressed limitations upon the power of these delegates, by which they were prohibited from doing any such act.

It is not necessary to recite all these papers; a part of one only will suffice. The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, assembled at Burlington, on the 21st of June, 1776, empowered their delegates, to join with the delegates of the other Colonies, "in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain, entering into a *Confederation* for union and common defence, making Treaties with foreign nations for commerce and assistance, and to take such other measures as might appear to them and you necessary *for these great ends*: always observing, that whatever plan of *Confederacy* you enter into, the regulating the internal police of this province, is to be reserved to the Colony Legislature." (*a*) Words containing a more explicit prohibition, against welding New Jersey with the other Colonies, or any of them, into one Nation, could not well have been employed; and yet the authority communicated to the delegates of New Jersey, by these instructions, was even greater than that possessed by the Representatives of many of the other Colonies.

If the nature and intent of the Declaration of Independence, are such, as I have stated, it is of little consequence to inquire whether that decisive and important step was taken by its authors, jointly, or severally; or whether it deserves the name of a joint act, or of several acts: for let the act be done as it may, it was certainly done for the purposes it announces, and could not have been done for any such purpose as the President ascribes to it, namely, to declare the Colonies one Nation, or the Colonists one People. In further proof of this, I will here remark, that during the very time the Declaration of Independence was under consideration, to wit, on the 11th June, 1776, Congress began to take the necessary measures for preparing "the form of a *Confederation to be* entered into between these Colonies," (*b*) which measure was perfected long after the Declaration of Independence was uttered. This of itself contradicts the assertion, that we were then one Nation or one People.

But I will postpone to another number, any remarks upon this second great act of our political history, and will conclude the present, by saying, that it results from all which has been stated, that the sovereignty assumed by the several States, in the manner I have before shewn, so far from being annulled, was *confirmed* by the Declaration of Independence, which had no other object than to *declare* their independence, and to demonstrate to the world, that Independence was their's of right.

A VIRGINIAN.

(*a*) See Journals of the Old Congress, vol. 2, page 224, 225.

(*b*) Ib, vol. 2, page 297.

From the Jeffersonian & Virginia Times.

THE DANGER.

I simply tell thee peril is at hand,—
And would preserve thee! BYRON.

There is no intelligent man who does not perceive the imminent danger in which the country now stands. No honest man ought to attempt to conceal it: and every patriot is bound by the highest earthly obligations, to come forward with ready hands and willing hearts, to sustain the tottering temple of our Liberty and Union. Look at the *facts* as becomes men and patriots.

The late Proclamation of A. Jackson lays the axe at the very root of our institutions. It utterly denies every principle held dear by the people heretofore. The *Government* has, by money subsidized the press, and by offers of office corrupted many of our leading men. A party of reckless fanatics are blowing the embers of a servile war—and on all sides the principles of the Revolution—the most sacred safeguards of Liberty are scoffed at and denounced. Even in our own State we see that they who have apostatized from the Republican principles of '98, are endeavoring to rally a party composed of a minority on the east of the Blue Ridge with the old Federal Party on the west, in order to carry on the mad project of consolidation. The Richmond Enquirer is at this work with all its power. No intelligent man can doubt it—or its obscure State Rights are not only *renounced*, but *execrated* with all the zeal of *toryism*—it is now publicly proclaimed that the States never were sovereign—that the Constitution of the *United States* is not the Constitution of the United *States*, but of an Unit, a single nation"—that as such, every *State* or the *People* of every State, are bound to submit to the despotism of the Congress—and that to "arrest the operation of an *unconstitutional* act, or secede from the Union, is alike "TREASON."

These are facts which no one can deny. We believe there is a project entertained to overthrow the Republican Institutions of the country. Ambitious aristocrats have become tired of the simplicity of our Government. They yearn for a great consolidated splendid Government, wherein they may shine with stars and ribbands; and live and grow rich on the honest labor of the people. The high plaudits paid by the British and French papers on Jackson's Proclamation, is a circumstance in itself very significant of the hopes and feelings entertained by European Royalty of what is coming on us. The London Times declares in substance that "*we must have a limited monarchy.*" We fear things are rapidly tending to that end. If the principles & doctrines now asserted by the Swiss Party of Jackson and Van Buren succeed, no doubt will remain as to the result. We shall have a monarchy or a despotism.

It will be the policy—it is already the cry of the menials and worshippers of power, to represent the opponents of power as unfavorable to order and peace—as disposed to dissolve the Union. This is necessary to carry on their desperate designs.—They are operated upon by the same considerations which induce the *thief* to cry out himself, as he runs, "*stop thief!*" Their object is to direct public attention from themselves while they press forward to their object.

We have not the least doubt that there is a fixed design to overturn the government. Leading men in a State do not apostatize from their principles, or sell themselves for nothing. If the principles of the Proclamation gain the ascendency, the Government is, *ipso facto*, a great consolidated despotism—*the Republic is gone.* These are our settled convictions. We regard the principle involved in this contest as *precisely* the same involved in our Revolution of '76. Indeed so far as our interests and safety are concerned, the despotic doctrines of the Proclamation are more dangerous than those maintained by the British parliament in 1775-6. They would convert the whole Southern people into slaves. *These doctrines will not be submitted to without a struggle.* We tell the public—*they will not be submitted to without a struggle.* If they are fixed upon us it will be by the *sword*. If persisted in, they will inevitably lead to another *revolutionary war*. These doctrines were supported by the tories in '76—and will be supported by them again—but who will gain the victory? The issue will be in the hands of HIM who governs all things.

We would fain arrest this rapid tendency of our institutions to the despotic form—but it cannot be done, unless the people themselves will act. No man of sense can believe for a moment that the principles of the Proclamation can result in any thing else, but *disunion* or despotism. In either event war is inevitable. The North and South are both aware of this. Leading statesmen in the North declare that civil war is inevitable—but that from the "*treachery of Southern men—and the state of our population it cannot last more than six months*"—and that it is better to incur the evils of such a war than give up the hopes of cupidity and ambition. These facts may be relied on.

That the North is mistaken in these calculations, we fully believe. In case of a contest, no Southern tory would dare to show himself before the roused indignation of the people. The Southern States are united in that which nothing can dissolve. The strongest of all ties is, *interest*—and the Northern Statesmen and Southern Tories are mistaken in the belief of the power of "*black regiments*, headed by *white tories*." They will be as stubble to feed the flames.

We throw out these *reflections* before the people, and call on them to *reflect*.—We have thought that if the Southern States would unite together in a temperate but firm declaration of their rights, and their fixed determination to maintain them, that the usurpations of the Government might be arrested, and the Union preserved. We think so still. But without that *firm* and *united* action, we confess we despair. Nothing else can save us—Despotism or dismemberment is inevitable, unless prompt and firm measures be adopted by the South to stay the torrent of Federal corruption and wrong.

FROM THE WHIG.

THEORY OF CONVENTIONS.

"The true theory of conventions is, that they are mere extraordinary assemblies of popular delegates, more proper to express the will of the people in particular cases, than the regular Legislature. They are no more the people, than the Legislature itself; but rather in the nature of an extraordinary Legislature of the Delegates of the People, and much more limited in their authority, than the regular organ of the Government."

The foregoing is an extract from an editorial article in the Charleston (S. C.) Courier, of the ——instant, headed "Theory of Convention." It is amusing to see the inconsistencies into which the monocrats, who contend for the consolidation of the States into one State, and for the absolutism of the Federal Government, betray themselves. This very Charleston Courier rests the authority and supremacy of the constitution of the United States on its being the act of the whole people as one, and that this is true, it holds proved, by the first words of the preamble; "We the people of the United States." Yet the people were not consulted with regard to it, until it was proposed by the State for their ratification, as suggested by the 2nd resolution of the Federal Convention; and when so ratified, it was by each several State, in its own convention. Hence, according to the theory of the Courier, the Constitution of the United States commences with the assertion of an *express lie*. Can this be the reason why this editor is so zealous to nullify the Constitution of the United States, and to introduce in its stead the uncertain, variable and arbitrary will of an absolute majority? Is this the reason why he is for enforcing, at the point of the bayonet, as if they were rightful laws, such acts of Congress as aid his object, and set at nought and nullify the Constitution, in its spirit and letter?

The paper from which the foregoing quotation is made, was established in 1802, to put down Mr. Jefferson, his principles and administration. It has the merit of having been ever consistent and true to the cause which it at first espoused; and is at this moment, *conducted* by a Star from the East, a native of the land of steady habits. Two years after the establishment of the Courier, did the Senior editor of the Enquirer establish that paper; if not to utterly extinguish, at least, by its superior lustre, to overwhelm and obscure the feeble light which proceeded with diminished, and constantly diminishing power, from it, and the several other stars (i. e. newspapers) in the old federal galaxy.

This little matter of history, should be known to younger readers, and to prevent misapprehension; for recently, the Enquirer, so far from maintaining its original purpose and superior lustre, seems to be under the necessity of borrowing its best lights from that good old aristocratic, monocratic South Carolina paper, the Charleston Courier, which is impenetrable to a single ray, which may beam from the numerous whig or democratic republican papers of South Carolina, holds as the best and truest institute of the theory and practice of policy and government, and the best and only true chronicle of the opinions and transactions of the people of South Carolina, (especially of the Union men there from down East.) Those who have the opportunity, will readily perceive that the Federal Charleston Courier, and democratic Richmond Enquirer, have, for some time past, run together, and now constitute an amalgam of its kind. Which of the two is the perfect metal, I will not pretend to say. It might be argued, it is supposed, with success, *a priori*, but to avoid committal on what is so all important, let time, and that which teaches fools —even experience determine.

BURNAVEN.

ANTI-VAN.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES.

The author of the Proclamation not only denies the sovereignty of the individual States as united under the present Constitution, (adopted in 1789) but originates his claim for federal sovereignty, as established by the first union of the thirteen colonies, under the the old articles of confederation. He relies indeed principally upon that view, to sustain the pretension of Federal Supremacy. This being the case, the readers attention is emphatically invited to the following extract from the journals of the House of Delegates of Virginia:

Resolved, That the Delegates to Congress from this State, be informed, that the Legislature of this Commonwealth are greatly alarmed at the assumption of power lately exercised by Congress, in some resolutions respecting the prices of provisions, &c. to be furnished the Continent. While the right of recommending measures to each State, by Congress, is admitted, we contend for that of judging of their utility and expediency, and of course either to approve or reject. In the exercise of this right, we cannot submit or acquiesce in the declaration of making any State answerable for not agreeing to any of their recommendations, which would establish a dangerous precedent against the *authority of the Legislature, and the sovereignty of the separate States.*—December 24th, 1779. Journal House of Delegates.

It will be observed, that this resolution was passed in the midst of the Revolutionary War, and subsisting the articles of Confederation. The sovereignty of the individual States is asserted in the most explicit manner, and so jealous were the patriots of that day of State Sovereignty and Federal Encroachment, that they remonstrated against the right of Congress to coerce the execution of their measures against the respective States, although the enemy was at their door, and although those requisitions of Congress were intended to secure the general safety, and to establish the general liberty against the arms of the British King! Were one at this day, to sit down and attempt to frame an assertion of State Sovereignty, such as he might suppose the Statesmen of Virginia would have framed in 1779, and with a view to use it as testimony in the present controversy, he could not use terms which would more clearly and peremptorily assert the sovereignty of the individual States. Had Mr. Livingston seen this Document? We presume not.

How this declaration of the Sovereignty of the States was received by Congress, we know not, but from historical admissions, uncontradicted on any hand, that the then Federal Authority had no power to *enforce* obedience upon the States, but one conclusion can be fairly arrived at. The claim of the House of Delegates to unqualified sovereignty in the separate States, was recognized and acquiesced in. The lust of power had not then contaminated those who exercised Federal authority. We wish to hear what the advocates of Consolidation and unlimited and passive obedience to Federal Power, have to say to this paper? *Richmond Whig.*

If the President's Proclamation has had no other good effect, it has certainly drawn the distinction between the true friends of the Rights of the States, and the mere office hunters. It has shown the true state of parties in the country.

Since the settlement of the Tariff question, the subject of dispute with the different parties is, whether ours be a consolidated Government or not? This is the question that now divides the parties in the United States.

The true Republicans have fearful odds to contend against. A combination made up of the popularity of Gen. Jackson, and the interests of the manufacturers, is arrayed against us. We have every inducement to contend to the last. If we are supine, and suffer them to shape the course of the government, and thus change its character, we lose every thing. It will then be converted into a mere patent machine for taxing us, and distributing those taxes among those who exact them. All the wild schemes of the fanatics—all their designs upon our property, will then be consummated. We shall have the miserable consolation to know, that we have sacrificed our rights, and the rights of our children, for the poor purpose of pleasing Gen. Jackson. Let the people of the South look to it. Danger is abroad. Let the office hunters live upon the elections, but let *us* incessantly guard our Rights.

Alabama Journal

Judge HARPER in his speech in Convention, gives the following admirably just summing up of the entire argument of the advocates of Federal supremacy:

"They first grant the State to be sovereign. To that point of orthodoxy it costs them little to be true: for no sooner have they assented to this, than they proceed to claim a like sovereignty for the Federal Government; from which it follows that, since there can be no real division of sovereignty, these very people, who thus attempt to give you a twin sovereignty, a double allegiance, universally end by that which they set out with denying, and of those two sovereignties make one supreme—the other inferior, that is *no sovereignty at all.*"

Mercury.

The English papers give currency to a rumor that the Duke of Wellington is to go to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, or the commander in chief of the army, in the event of the passage of the Irish enforcement bill. This soldier of a fortuitous fortune owes his success in life, in a great degree, to the blood and valor of Irishmen. He himself is a native Irishman; and yet it appears he is to be selected to let loose the dogs of war on his own countrymen.

General Jackson is a native of South Carolina. If the soil of that State had been drenched in blood under *our* enforcement bill, by whom was the carnage to have been directed or ordered? The similarity of the two bloody bills seems to extend even to the persons by whom their enactments shall be carried into effect.

Telegraph.

Blue Laws.—The Blue Laws of Connecticut have long been a source of merriment to the citizens of the present day. But it is not generally known that some of the early acts of the Legislature of Pennsylvania are equally queer.—About the year 1680 or 81, the Legislature passed a resolution, that no member thereof should come to the House *bare foot, or eat his bread and cheese on the steps.*

FREE TRADE AND LOW PRICES.—Fifteen hundred chests bohea tea, just imported, were sold yesterday by auction at twelve and three quarter cents a pound. The duty until recently was twelve cents a pound. We shall soon have all the tea tables on our side in political economy.

The following well merited compliment to the Germans who have emigrated to America, is from the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Sentinel.*

The Germans of Ohio.—The German population of Ohio, are a hardy, frugal, and industrious people. They are mostly farmers, and mind no body's business but their own. Look at their farms, their orchards, their gardens, their cattle and horses, and you will see what they are about. They are among the best practical farmers in Ohio. There is a neatness about their premises, which proves them to have been well instructed in the business of agriculture, and to understand the most profitable mode of cultivating the soil. Though generally well informed, they make no parade of their knowledge. They are never found intriguing for office. They meddle little with politics, and yet no one set among us are more firmly established in their opinions. If error at any time creeps into the administration of the government, they are not slow in finding it out. They seek for correct information. Plain and republican in all their notions, they despise extravagance in every thing. They delight in tilling the soil, and in using the best means in bringing it to a high state of perfection. Their barns are usually well filled, & their houses abounding in plenty. They drive fat horses, live honestly, and are finally an honor to any state or country they inhabit. We rejoice to learn that the German emigration to this State is still increasing. There are, at this time, probably thirty thousand voters in Ohio, and a population of more than 150,000 of that industrious people.

DAVID CROCKETT.

A new work has just been published at Cincinnati, entitled the "Life and Adventures of Col. David Crockett, of West Tennessee." It is spoken of as being a very amusing affair, containing as the auction crier would say, "a variety" of ludicrous anecdotes of the eccentric Member from Tennessee. The following is extracted from the book.

"During the Col's first winter in Washington, a Caravan of wild animals was brought to the City and exhibited. Large crowds attended the exhibition; and prompted by common curiosity, one evening Col. Crockett attended.

'I had just got in, said he, 'the house was very much crowded, and the first thing I noticed was two wild cats in a cage.—Some acquaintance asked me 'if they were like the wild cats in the back woods,' and I was looking at them when one turned over and died. The keeper ran up and threw some water on it. Said I "Stranger, you are wasting time. My looks kills them things—and you had a damn sight better hire me to go out here, or I will kill every damned varmint you've got.' While I and he was talking, the lion began to roar. Said I, 'turn him out, turn him out, damn him, I can whip him for a ten dollar bill, and the Zebra may kick occasionally during the fight. This created some fun, and I then went to another part of the room, where a monkey was riding a pony. I was looking on, and some member said to me, 'Crockett, don't that monkey favour Gen. Jackson?' 'No,' said I, 'but I'll tell you who it does favor—It looks like one of your boarders, Mr. —— of Ohio.' There was a loud burst of laughter at my saying so, and upon turning round, I saw Mr. —— of Ohio, in about three feet of me. I was in a right awkward fix, but I bow'd to the company and told 'em I had either slandered the monkey or Mr. —— of Ohio, and if they would tell me which, I would beg pardon.' The thing passed off, and next morning as I was walking the pavement before my door, a member came up to me, and said, "Crockett, Mr. —— is going to challenge you"—said I, 'well tell him I am a fighting fowl. I 'spose if I am challenged, I have a right to choose my weapons?' 'O yes,' said he. 'Then tell him,' said I, 'that I will fight him with bows and arrows.'".

While Col. Crockett was at Washington, a young gentleman who had been paying his addresses to his daughter, wrote to him requesting his permission that they might be married. The reply of the Colonel was in the following laconic style:

WASHINGTON, —— ——

"Dear Sir—I received your letter. Go a head. DAVID CROCKETT."

The annexed is illustrative of the Colonel's electioneering tact:

"In the canvass of the Congressional Election of 18—, Mr. ****** was the Colonel's opponent; a gentleman of the most pleasing and conciliatory manners—who seldom addressed a person or a company without wearing upon his countenance a peculiar good humored smile. The Colonel, to counteract the influence of this winning attribute, thus alluded to it, in a stump speech:

"Yes, gentlemen, he may get some votes by *grinning*, for he can *out grin* me, and you know I ain't slow—and to prove to you that I am not, I will tell you an anecdote. I was concerned myself, & I was fooled a little of the d—dest. You all know I love hunting. Well I discovered a long time ago that a coon couldn't stand my grin. I could bring one tumbling down from the highest tree. I never wasted powder and lead when I wanted one of the creatures. Well, as I was walking out one night, a few hundred yards from my house, looking about me, I saw a coon planted upon one of the highest limbs of an old tree. The night was very moony and clear, and old Rattler was with me; but Rattler wont bark at a coon—he's a queer dog in that way. So I thought I'd bring the lad down, in the usual way, *by a grin*. I set myself, and, after grinning at the coon a reasonable time, found that he didn't come down. I took another steady grin at him. Still he was there. It made me a little mad; so I felt round, and got an old limb, about five feet long—and, planting one end upon the ground, I placed my chin upon the other, and took a rest. I then grinned my best for about five-minutes, but the d—d coon hung on. So, finding I could not bring him down by grinning, I determined to have him, for I thought he must be a droll chap. I went over to the house, got my axe, returned to the tree, saw the 'coon still there, and began to cut away. Down it came, and I run forward; d—n the 'coon it was not there to be seen. I found that what I had taken for one, was a large knot upon a branch of the tree—and upon looking at it closely, I saw that *I had grinned all the bark off, and left the knot perfectly smooth.*

"Now fellow citizens," continued the Colonel, "you must be convinced, that in the *grinning line*, I myself am not slow—yet when I look upon my opponents' countenance, I must admit he is my superior. You must all admit it. Therefore, be wide awake, look sharp, and do not let him grin you out of your votes."

The gentleman who has sent us the following amusing communication, is resident near the spot, where the orator made the "impassioned appeal" here given.

FLOWERS OF RHETORIC.

The following patriotic speech was delivered, it is said at a late meeting in Illinois, called for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of getting up a second expedition against the hostile band of Sacs and Foxes.

Friends and Feller-Citizen Sodjirs!

We are met here for the purpose of excusing the subject about the hospitalities lately convicted against our peaceful and blooming and flourishing frontiers by the

condacious Red skins! (murmur of applause) I say we are met here to instigate whether we will sit still in our shantees, and see the spoiler whet his deadly and bloody and murderous knife against the hearts of our friends and feller squatters; —them are fearless sperits who have gone forth with a bold heart and a strong arm *to dig ditches & drain the swamps of the west!*—and whom we may look upon imphatically and tee totally as the pianos of a new world! (Much cheering and calling "hear! hear!") Whether we will sit still & see their corn fields ravished, their wives inviolated before their very eyes, and their smiling, prattling infants used up in the most barbacious manner—or whether we will march at once upon this second champagne, and by our timely valorasity, save them from a state of total defunction! at the same time extinguishing ourselves in eternal fame! (Here the scalp hallo was thrice repeated.) Ah! my feller citizen sodjirs! I fully propitiate the symptomizing feelings of your hearts! I need but remind you of your duties towards your suffering and distrestful and conflicted brithren! Their woes cry aloud for address, and perhaps are heard even now in the retiracy of our firesides and our chimbley corners! ("Much agitation in the centre.")—Behold they lay down at night with a blooming cheek and a ruby lip, and —oh! my feller sodjirs, must I revulge the cruel, the dreadful, the fatal catastrophe? *they wake up ere morning in death!* Here the scalp-halloo was again sounded, and after a little calling to order by an amateur speaker, who was taking notes with a piece of chalk on a board fence, the orator of the day, resumed.) But I cannot dwell upon this horrible, this appalling, this dreadful subject,—a subject, feller citizen sodjirs, whose horrors ruin ferment the very grain as I may say, of the soul without (clearing his throat and addressing one of the crowd) —Stranger, will you hand me a goard of water with a leetle sprinkle of the critter in it?—without feeling an inquinchable thirst for (tasting the liquor and addressing the individual who brought it,) a little more of the critter if you please, just a sprinkle,—a mere drap—that,—an unsquinchable thirst for that wengence which all the gods of war, Wulcan, and Plato, and Wessuvius, claim as their high perogative, but which I would shower, feller citizens, which I would shower in beams of wrath upon them are unlegal, excenstitutional uncivilized savages, which skulks amongst our bottoms, by day and by night, sallies forth to kill and to murder our families, *and to rob our potatoe patches!* Yes gentlemen and feller citizens sodjirs! my soul rises spontaneously as I contaminate the glorious event that must extinguish our names in the hearts of our countrymen till time shall be no more! Our excesrin this expedition is sartan;—it is a mere sarcumstance! The planes will be aroused, and we will all hight on'em bodaciously, and tee totally obflistigate'em off the face of the yearth! I know you are all raal grit. I myself am particularly a caution —a raal snag boat, and will lead you to where a good chunk of a fight is sartin to be hit against. I will flank you into a solemn column, and receding by a retrograde advance we will away to the field of glory; the field of garnish and of blood! Yes, my friends and feller sodjirs! we'll meet the enemy in their own diggings, *and the way we'll use'em up'll be a sin to Crockett!*

[The scalp-halloo again rose to a deafening height, but died away as the whole party, bearing their orator upon a rail, "receded by a retrograde advance," towards a shantee where the "critter had not yet entirely yielded to the ravages of *consumption*.]

N. B. The orator in question, is a candidate for a seat in the next Legislature of a certain western State.—*Germantown Telegraph.*

Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

ARRIVED.

April 20th. Schooner Nile, from Boston. 21st, Brig Damon, from N. York; Schooner Alin, from Jamaica. 22nd, Schooner Branch, from N. York. 23rd, William Henry, from Charleston; Brig Export, from Boston.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

ARRIVED,

April 15th. Steamer, Henrietta, with tow boats Clarendon and Only Son, with Dry Goods, Hardware, Crockery, Glass ware, Sugar, Coffee, Molasses, and Iron, for merchants in Fayetteville and the interior, we notice for this section of country, George W. Brown, T. L. Cowan, Cowan & Jenkins, J. Cowles, Caldcleugh, Dusenberry & Co. Dusenberry, McRorie & Co. M. Pinkston, C. Harbin & Co, Waugh, Courts & Waugh, Waugh and Moore, J. Waugh, B. Clements, Samuel Lemly and Son, M. Chambers, and A. Caldcleugh.

Arrived. April 21st. Steamer John Walker, Capt. Rothwell, with the Henry Clay in tow, with Molasses, Sugar, Coffee, Dry Goods, Hardware, &c. for merchants in Fayetteville and the interior, we notice for this section of country, J. Murphy, Murphy & Taylor, Johnson and Hargrave, Ebenezer Dickson, Alexander and Cowan.

Markets.

LIVERPOOL.—Accounts have been received to 24th March. The sales of cotton for the week ending the 22d were 14-000 bales. Uplands are quoted at 6¾ to 8d. sterling per pound. Import from the 12th to the 19th March, 3891 bales.

NEW YORK.—April 20.—COTTON—There has been considerable business in the article at prices equal to those of last week: the sales are about 6700 bales, consisting in part of 3900 uplands, at 10½ to 12¼

COFFEE.—The Coffee market is giving way. The following are the transactions of the week, being all for the home trade. 700 a 800 bags Cuba at 10 a 12½; 1000 bags Brazil 12 a 13½; 300 a 400 bags Laguira 12 a 12½ and 500 bags Java at 13½ cents.

SUGAR.—The sales consist of 350 a 400 boxes brown Havanna at 8¼ a 8¾; Some prime whites at 11½ a 11¾ Some poor do. at 9½ a 9¾; 300 hhds New Orleans at 5 a 7; 100 hhds St Croix, at 8½ a 10; and 200 hhds Porto Rico, at 8 a 8¾ cts. Prices are well supported.

Dry Goods.—Two sales of Canton silks have been made by auction this week, which have been already reported. The first consisting of old importations does not call for any remark. The last being a recent arrival, the prices offered did not meet the views of importers, prices having risen in Canton and few goods being expected. Nothing but sample cases were sold. All the Slate Souchon Pongees were withdrawn as well as many of the white Pongees. In British dry goods we have had a quiet week, but still some heavy operations have been made, both for home trade and export. There is no depression in French goods.

CHARLESTON, April 25th.

COTTON.—This article comes in slowly and is taken up freely on arrival at the full prices of last week. Prime readily commands 12 cents. We have heard of no sales beyond this quotation, although holders are asking higher prices. The late accounts from England report a dull market; but no change in prices. Beeswax 18; Tallow 11 a 11½; Molasses, Cuba and English Islands, 24½ a 26, New Orleans 27 a 28; Sugar 7 a 9½; Coffee 11 a 13½ cts. The transactions in Groceries have been very limited. Holders of Coffee are anxious to realize, as considerable arrivals are shortly expected, and prices are looking down. The amount of Sugar on hand is quite small, particularly of a prime quality.

COLUMBIA.—We have received no advices since our last.

CHERAW, April 26th.

Cotton sells readily at quotations, and in one or more instances above, one fine lot brought 11½ cts. Corn is in demand, and will find ready sale at quotations! Flour also will find a ready market at quotations. Our merchants have good stocks of groceries; salt, sugar, and coffee in plenty.—Our up country friends will do well to try this market, as all kinds of produce will meet a ready sale.

Cotton 10 a 11; Corn 60; Flour 4,50 a 5,50; Molasses 35 a 40; Coffee 15 a 17; Sugar 8 a 10; Salt 75 per bushel $2,50 per sack.

WILMINGTON, April 24th

No alterations since our last, except in the article of Molasses, which we quote at 26 a 30 cts. per gallon.

FAYETTEVILLE April 23rd.

No alterations since our last in the state of this market.

THE CAROLINIAN.

FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT COELUM.

SALISBURY:

MAY 6 1833.

BRITISH INFLUENCE AND BRITISH PRINCIPLES.

We have heard our northern brethren accuse the SOUTH in their opposition to the Tariff of being influenced by British feeling, particularly the nullification party of South Carolina in and about Charleston; that their only object was to effect a dismemberment of our glorious Union, and form an alliance with the kingdom of Great Britain. We cannot for a moment believe that the intelligent part of that community could ever possibly have harboured such an idea. The charge is made there by the wicked, and not unfrequently believed by the weak, the the latter have our pity, the former our contempt. The influence of British feelings! The Southern people are sometimes influenced by British feelings, but they are the feelings which operated on Thomas Jefferson, Charles Carroll, Richard Henry Lee, Edward Rutledge, and the rest of that gallant band who represented them in the Congress of '76, when for the support of the Declaration of Independence which declared the good people of these colonies, free and independent States "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour—they are actuated by the feelings which operated on a Washington, a Marion, a Sumpter and a host of others, when they resisted King George at the cannons mouth, enduring all the privations incident to a military life in the then state of the country, because they loved liberty and hated oppression they are the feelings which operated on some, even of the present generation, when they staked their homes, and their firesides on a contest for their political rights; when at the hazard of their lives and fortunes they opposed British power and claims

The influence of British principles! They are actuated by British principles, but they are those of a Locke, a Milton and a Sidney, principles which teach them that government is intended for the benefit of the people, & not for the advantage of their agents,—principles which teach them that it is not only the right, but the bounden duty of the people to mark the conduct of their agents, and as they prescribed their duties and prerogatives, which are contained in the written constitution of the land, should they exceed them, TO INTERPOSE TO ARREST THE EVIL. When they shall no longer be actuated by such feelings and such principles, when they shall subscribe to the doctrines that the men in power *can do no wrong*, that the will of the Executive is in all cases to be obeyed, that the laws of Congress constitutional and unconstitutional, are the supreme law of the land; to be enforced at the point of the Bayonet, taxes to be collected at the drum head; and instead of a civil officer to be insulted by a swaggering orderly Sergeant; that they must speak of the acts of the President as one of [illegible] William the Fourth would of his Royal master "he can do no wrong; in fine, when they shall point to the President's proclamation and say "there you will find my creed, because it is the creed of General Jackson"—then we will begin to believe that they are under the influence of TORY PRINCIPLES, and are fit to be SLAVES.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

It is but the idle language of a false and destructive theory, to argue that the farmer is independent of the merchant, or that the distresses of one is not felt by the other. The experience of ages has demonstrated the intimate [illegible] between agriculture and commerce, and in proportion as one suffers, the other sympathizes with it. There is not a single instance in the history of the world, of any great commercial nation ever recovering, or surviving the destruction of her trade. In proportion as she lost her commerce, her agriculture declined, and the people universally sunk into poverty, idleness and contempt. But in the eyes of those politicians who are for sacrificing commerce to build up the "American System" the experience of years is nothing but a mighty volume of errors, and the accumulated examples of ages, vanish before the illuminated inspirations of this enlightened band of modern experimentalists.

To any person who has impartially contemplated the baneful effects of the system heretofore pursued by that party opposed to free trade, the truth of these positions must be evident Already do we perceive, (contrary to the predictions of the tariffites,) the influence which a reduction of the duty has produced upon the article of TEA, instead of creating a rise, a fall has absolutely taken place, to within three quarters of a cent of the duty originally paid. If this is the case, it stands to reason that all other articles must be affected in the same way. To the agriculturist, this must be cheering news, who "all point to the Plough and the Ship, as the instruments of their wealth and happiness—as the means most conducive to the national good, and individual virtue." He can look forward and rely with some certainty upon a return of those good old times, when he found a ready and profitable sale for his produce—when government do them justice and say "buy where you can buy cheapest," and "sell where you can sell to the most advantage." The clouds are breaking away, and a bright day awaits the Southern part of the confederacy.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

The echoing hounds on the distant hills points out to the huntsman the place where his game is to be found, and a careful observer may always discern the Presidents favorite by the yelling of his hungry followers, that this is Martin Van Buren, Vice President of the United States, no one can for a moment doubt, elected to the office which he now fills by the popularity of the President, he expects to succeed him by the same means. To trace him through all his doublings and windings, to unmask his policy, and throw light into the [illegible] of his political career, would be a task of mortal difficulty. The hypocrite like the pestilence "walks in darkness" and his paths are unknown except to him who keeps a steady eye upon him and watches all his motions with an attention that never sleeps but Hypocrisy is one of the great qualifications with the "powers that be," whose wisdom consists in deceiving the people. It is a dark lanthorn, which while it hides the bearer in obscurity enables him to see every obstacle in his way, against him no caution is a sufficient defence and no courage an adequate shield—we know not from whence the blow will proceed, and cannot guard against a danger which approaches unseen. With Hypocrisy cunning is generally in close offensive and defensive league—for wisdom disdains such an ignoble alliance, and scorns to become the tool of a double faced associate; possessing this in such an eminent degree has procured for him the appellation of the "GREAT MAGICIAN." A man who will cant about his religion when in the very act of transgressing the whole decalogue, will bear a good comparison to him who boasts of his love of country at the very moment he is sacrificing it to his own interest or ambition. Candour and openness are the characteristics of a noble mind, as cunning, evasion and hypocrisy are those of a mean one. He who dares to speak boldly what he thinks, will dare to act boldly. It is necessary that a man to be worthy of becoming the trustee of a nations' welfare, should possess the firmness of mind which will bear him up against the weight of any foreign power, however dangerous it might be to provoke its enmity, and withal a spirit of hardy patriotism that will prompt him to encounter any dangers rather than surrender the *honour of his country* But above all, a man who aspires to the confidence of the people should merit it by a contempt of all double dealing or disguise. Does the man who heads *this* article, M. V. Buren sustain this noble character, it is notorious that he does not, let the people enquire into his previous life and keep a sharp look out until November 1836 when they will be again called on to elect their chief magistrate.

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

The warfare waged against this institution by the "Kitchen Cabinet" convinces us of the bad feelings which operate on the "Parlour Cabinet." It is a maxim in politics, as well as in morality that the *end* to be obtained is best judged by the *means* which are used for its attainment When we see men pursuing honorable means, we may conclude without the probability of mistake that their *object* is equally honorable. But when on the contrary we behold fraud, violence, falsehood and hypocrisy employed as *means* and such men as Francis P. Blair, Amos Kendall and others of the same stamp selected as the chosen instruments to guide them,—reason, consciousness, every power and principle of the mind will bear testimony that something evil lurks at the bottom, and that this cannot "come to good," the immaculate laws of nature, the tremendous authority of the Deity are against it.

There can be no doubt, that extensive speculations were made in stocks, by persons who had an opportunity of knowing the Presidents opinions previous to his last Message to Congress; in that message he made an attack on the Bank by suggesting the propriety of withdrawing the government deposites, he was followed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report. At this very time there was an agent examining into the state of this institution, from whose report we should say, it was like Caesars wife" above suspicion," Congress took up the subject and the Representatives of the People after a thorough investigation declared that it was perfectly safe, by a large and triumphant majority—with all these facts staring them in the face, they still keep up the fight. We never take up the Government paper called the "GLOBE, without finding at least two or three columns devoted to the United States Bank, and what can be their object? Will the administration dare to withdraw from that Bank the government deposites after Congress have pronounced judgment in its favour, and transfer them to the vaults of the State Banks, of whose solvency we have no pledge. We think not. We are opposed to the re-chartering of the United States Bank believing it to be unconstitutional but we must say while it is in existence. "Let justice be done."

RHODE ISLAND FOR THE "OLD HERO."

She has at length succeeded in electing a Governor. And of what complexion do you suppose, we mean politically? A whole hog Jackson man. For the want of concert between the Jackson men of November last (not of the new school) and the anti masons, the vote of the state was given for Clay and Sergeant, but now they pull together and no doubt have joined teams with some of the "Blue lights" who flourished so well in that region during the last war, and their efforts have been crowned with success by a large majority. We wish however they would call things by their right names, and let us of the South understand them; they think however "a Rose by any other name will smell as sweet."

MR. CRAIGE:

On next Monday morning, I leave here for the North, and if I can serve you or any of my friends, I shall be happy in so doing. My friends will accept, as an apology for my leaving without seeing them, my best wishes for their future happiness, and believe me to be, as ever, their friend.

C. B. WHEELER.

Salisbury, May 4th 1833.

MR. EDITOR.

Will you be so good as to publish in your paper the following note which was sent to the Editors of the Yadkin & Catawba Journal?

To the Editors of the Yadkin & Catawba Jour.

In consequence of a notice to Mr. Fisher which appeared in last weeks Journal and which is calculated to produce a false impression (undesignedly it is presumed) on your readers who reside at a distance from Salisbury, "a friend of Mr. Fisher's" wishes you to state in your next paper that Mr. Fisher has been for several weeks absent some hundred miles in Georgia on business. He will doubtless inform you on his return home, whether he designs farther to discuss the subject of State Rights. As there is no necessity for the immediate decision of this question perhaps there will be an advantage in delay, by procuring a more unimpassioned discussion when the recent political excitement shall have more completely subsided

To the Editors of papers throughout the U. States.

Samuel Terry, a native of Riverhead, L. Island, left his place of residence in the city of New York, in May, 1824, aged then about 17, since which time no certain information has been received by his friends concerning him. There is some reason to believe he has been in the army in the South-western part of the Union. If this should meet the eye of *any persons* who can furnish any information concerning him, dead or alive, they will confer a favor on his frends, by addressing a line to his brother, Elijah Terry, Suffolk Court House, New York, whose hearty thanks those Editors will receive who notice the above.

A dignified Legislature.—It is stated in an Albany paper—whether as a *jeu d'esprit*, or not, we cannot tell—that at the morning session, on a recent occasion, it was found that a quorum was not present; whereupon the sergeant-at-arms was despatched to procure the absentees. He sallied forth from the Capitol, and found a lot of members in the street, following the wagons belonging to a menagerie company, containing lions, bears, tigers, and so forth, and trying to get a sight of these animals, gratis! The senatorial train were admonished that they were wanted to do the people's business, and reluctantly tore themselves away from a spectacle which had afforded them so much gratification at so cheap a rate!

Philadelphia Gazette.

From the National Intelligencer, April 22.

In the case *ex parte* Tobias Watkins, the opinion of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia was delivered by Chief Justice Cranch on Saturday last, quashing the three writs of execution against the prisoner, overruling the motion of the Attorney for the United States to commit him, and ordering him to be discharged. We shall endeavor to obtain and lay before our readers a copy of the opinion of the Court, which is represented as being very learned and elaborate.

Singular.—It is whispered in Paris that the Duchess of Berri's health can only be improved by *confinement*, not by a release from prison!

John Wesley.—In the early days of methodism, to discourage pawning, and aid his poorer disciples, he established a fund, termed the "Lending Stock," from which, on security offered, from two to five pounds might be obtained for a period of 3 months. Lackington the celebrated bookseller and others who rose to great eminence in their commercial career succeeded by loans derived from this fund.

Chronicle of Wesleyan Methodism.

Tithes.—The refusal of the people of Ireland to pay tithes has been so general, and so long persisted in, that the established clergy in great numbers are nearly starved out of their houses. For the system of political tithing for ecclesiastical establishments, we have no feeling; and heartily wish, that those who cannot be supported by the voluntary contributions of their hearers, may go to the trade of making brooms for their livelihood. *Philadelphian.*

Mr. Verplanck of New York has done something patriotic and independent, for the Washington Globe pursues him with rancorous and unceasing hostility. Mr. VERPLANCK when he reads this constant abuse cannot but ask himself "What wise and virtuous action have I *committed?*"

NEW CHEAP SPRING & SUMMER GOODS.

THE firm of HACKETT & LEMLY having been dissolved, the business in future will be conducted by

S. LEMLY & SON,

Who are receiving direct from

New-York & Philadelphia,

A COMPLETE ASSORTMENT OF

Spring and Summer GOODS,

Of the latest importations, consisting of

Dry-Goods, & Groceries, Hats, Bonnets & Shoes, *Hard-Ware, Cutlery, and* PLATED WARE, *Saddlery, Crockery, &c. &c.*

—ALSO—

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Carpenter's, Cabinet-Maker's, and Blacksmith's Tools.

LIKEWISE, A GOOD SUPPLY OF

Greek, Latin and English SCHOOL BOOKS.

And all other articles usually kept in retail Stores, which they intend selling at small profits for cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers.

They respectfully invite their friends, and the public generally, to call and examine the assortment for themselves.

Cotton, Corn, Oats, Flaxseed, Beeswax, Tallow, and almost every description of country produce will be taken at fair prices, in exchange for goods

Salisbury, N. C. 1st May, 1833. 74tf

NEW CHEAP *Spring & Summer* GOODS.

GEO. W. BROWN,

IS now receiving from New York & Philadelphia, a large and extensive assortment of Fresh and Fashionable

GOODS,

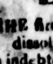
Selected with great care and bought at the lowest cash prices; all of which, he is determined to sell at a very small profit for CASH, or on time to punctual dealers. His stock consists of every variety usually found in Stores in this section of country, viz:

DRY GOODS, Hardware, Groceries, Crockery, Saddlery, Hats, Shoes, Bonnets, &c. &c.

Persons wishing to purchase, will do well to call and examine his Stock; for he thinks from the lowness of his prices to induce purchasers to buy. The usual kinds of produce taken in payment. 14t87

Salisbury, May 1, 1833.

HOUSE & LOT FOR SALE.



THE subscriber offers for Sale, the HOUSE & LOT belonging to her, Situated immediately in the rear of the State Bank. For terms apply to 74tf

CHRISTINA WEST.

Salisbury, May 4th 1833.

Dissolution.

THE firm of Hackett & Lemly, is this day dissolved by mutual consent. All persons indebted to the firm, will please call and settle their accounts immediately with William H. Hackett. 69tf

April 5, 1833.

ATTENTION! Rowan Troopers,

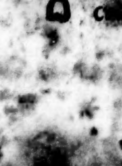
YOU will parade at the Court House in Salisbury, on Friday the 30th of May next, at 10 o'clock, equipt as the law directs.

A Court Martial will be held at the same time for the trial of delinquents.

By order of the Capt.

4t77 JAS. OWENS, O. S.

Wanted Immediately,



FOUR or five Journeymen to the Saddle & Harness making business. To good workmen of steady and industrious habits, good wages and constant employment will be given. Apply to 3t76

JOHN WARMOUTH

Concord, N. C. April 25, 1833.

NEW AND CHEAP GOODS, FOR THE *Spring & Summer.*

John Murphy

GRATEFUL for past favours, respectfully announces to his friends and the public, that he is now opening, at his Store,

IN SALISBURY,

A large and extensive variety of SPRING & SUMMER GOODS,

Selected carefully and attentively from the latest importations, in New York and Philadelphia, for the Spring of 1833, and bought exclusively for CASH.

Those wishing to examine and purchase cheap goods are invited to call and do so.

J. M. hopes by strict attention to business, to merit a continuance of those past favours, so liberally bestowed upon him by the public.

N. B. Country Produce of all kinds bought at the highest Market price. 4t7

May 1, 1833.

ATTENTION! *SALISBURY BLUES,*

YOU are hereby ordered to parade in front of the Court House in Salisbury, on Saturday the 18th May next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. armed and equipped as the law directs.

By order of the Captain.

GEO. M. MERR, O. S.

May 1st. 1833. 3w

Treasury Department
April 12th 1833

IN the late conflagration of the Treasury building, nearly all the correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury, from the establishment of the Department to the 31st March 1833, was destroyed, including, as well the original letters and communications addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, as the records of the letters and communications written by him. With a view to repair the loss, as far as may be practicable, all officers of the United States are requested to cause copies to be prepared, and authenticated by them, of any letters (excepting those hereinafter alluded to,) which they may at any time have written to, or received from the Secretary of the Treasury, and all those who have been in office, and other individuals throughout the United States, and elsewhere, are invited to do the same. That this correspondence may be arranged into appropriate books, it is requested that it be copied on folio foolscap paper, with a sufficient margin on all sides to admit of binding, and that no more than one letter be contained on a leaf. It is also requested, that the copies be written in a plain and distinct or engrossing hand. Where the original can be spared, it would be preferred. The reasonable expense incurred in copying the papers now requested, not exceeding the rate of ten cents for every hundred words will be defrayed by the Department.

The correspondence which has been saved, and of which therefore, no copies are desired, are the records of the letters written by the Secretary of the Treasury to Presidents and Cashiers of Banks, from the 1st October, 1819, to the 20th February, 1833; all the correspondence relating to the revolutionary claims under the act of 15th May, 1828, and to claims of Virginia officers to half pay, under the act of 5th July 1832, and the applications for the benefits of the acts of the 2nd March, 1831, and 14th July, 1832, for the relief of certain insolvent debtors of the United States. Copies of some circular letters and instructions, written by the Secretary, have also been preserved [illegible] it is requested that, before any copy be made of any *circular*, letter or instruction, written by the Secretary of the Treasury, the date and object of the circular be first stated to the Department, and its wishes on the subject ascertained.

LOUIS McLANE

74-3m *Secretary of the Treasury.*

NOTICE.

THE Certificate for Four Shares of the Capital or Joint Stock of the Bank of Cape Fear, in the name of William Oakes, dec'd., late of Rowan County, N. C. having been mislaid, Notice is therefore hereby given to all persons concerned, that, I shall apply to the President of the said Bank, either in person, or by agent, to issue duplicates thereof.

WM. W. LONG. *Admr.*

Salisbury, Feb. 25, 1833. 13t77

THE EXAMINER.

THE subscribers to the paper proposed to be established, in this city, under the title of "The Examiner," are respectfully informed, that owing to the entire failure of the condition expressed in the seventh article of the prospectus, its publication has been abandoned.

Philadelphia, Pa. April 11, 1833.

Blank Deeds,

OF every description, neatly Printed, and kept constantly for sale at this office.

BY AUTHORITY.

LAWS OF THE U. STATES.

Passed at the second Session of the Twenty-Second Congress.

No. 25.

AN ACT to explain and amend the act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports passed July fourteenth, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, so far as relates to hardware, and certain manufactures of Copper and Brass, and other articles.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the provisions of the tenth and twelfth clauses of the second section of the act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports, passed July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, be, and the same are hereby suspended until the first day of June, eighteen hundred and thirty-four.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That so much of the act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports, passed July the fourteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, as repeals the duties heretofore levied on copper bottoms cut round, and copper bottoms raised to the edge, and parts thereof, and on copper plates or sheets, weighing more than thirty-four ounces per square foot, commonly called braziers copper, and on tobacco leaves, or unmanufactured, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That nothing contained in the act, of the fourteenth of July, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports, shall be so construed as to authorise the exemption, from the payment of duty on sheet and rolled brass, but the same shall be charged with the payment of a duty of twenty five per centum ad valorem.

A. STEVENSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
HU L. WHITE,
President of the Senate pro tempore.

Approved, March 2, 1833.
ANDREW JACKSON.

No. 27.

AN ACT for improving the navigation of certain rivers in the Territories of Florida and Michigan, and for surveys, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of removing obstructions, and improving the navigation of certain rivers in the Territories of Florida and Michigan, the following sums be, and they are hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States.

For removing obstructions in, and improving the navigation of the Escambia river, five thousand dollars.

For improving the navigation of Ocklochney river, five thousand dollars.

For improving the navigation of Chuctawhachie river, as recommended by the Postmaster General for the transportation of the mail from Pensacola to Tallahassee, five thousand dollars.

For improving the harbor at Chicago on Lake Michigan, twenty-five thousand dollars.

For a survey of White and Saint Francis rivers in the Territory of Arkansas, five hundred dollars.

Approved, March 2, 1833.

No. 28.

AN ACT in relation to the Potomac Bridge.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so soon as the President of the United States shall decide on a plan for the erection of a bridge over the Potomac river at Washington, on or adjoining the site of the old bridge, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby required to advertise for contracts, after giving, at least, thirty days notice.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That towards the construction of the said bridge, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in such sums, and at such times, as may be agreed on by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the contractor or contractors, who shall give to the said Secretary satisfactory security for the faithful performance of the contract.

Approved, March 2. 1833.

No. 29.

AN ACT to improve the navigation of the Potomac river between Georgetown and Alexandria, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to aid the citizens of Georgetown in removing the obstructions to their navigation, by causing the cut already made through the bar, below the town to be enlarged and deepened; and for the further purpose of enabling them to make a free turnpike road to the district line on the Virginia side of the river, and to purchase of the present proprietors, and make forever free, the bridge over the Little Falls of Potomac river, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said sum shall be paid, from time to time, by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the order of the Corporation of Georgetown, in such sums as to enable the said Corporation to effect the purposes aforesaid.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That before the said sum be paid over to the said Corporation, it shall pass an ordinance to make said road and bridge free, and to be kept in repair by said Corporation for ever.

Approved March 2, 1833.

No. 30.

AN ACT in addition to the Act for the gradual Improvement of the Navy of the U. States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the gradual improvement of the Navy of the United States, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, be, and the same is hereby appropriated annually, for six years, from and after the third day of March, eighteen hundred and thirty three, when the present appropriation expires.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized and empowered to cause the above mentioned appropriation to be applied as directed and prescribed by the act of the third of March, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, to which this is in addition, the provisions whereof are hereby, continued in force for the term above mentioned, and to be applied also to the purchase of other necessary materials as well as timber suitable for the construction of vessels of war.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That in addition to the provisions now in force on the subject of the live oak growing on the public lands, it shall be the duty of all the collectors of the customs within the territory of Florida, & the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, before allowing a clearance to any vessel laden in whole or in part with live oak timber, to ascertain satisfactorily that such timber was cut from private lands, or if from public ones, by consent of the Navy Department. And it is hereby made the duty of all officers of the customs, and of the land officers within the said Territory and States, to cause prosecutions to be seasonably instituted against all persons known to be guilty of depredations on, or injuries to, the live oak growing on the public lands.

Approved, March 2, 1833.

No. 32.

AN ACT making appropriations for carrying on certain works heretofore commenced for the improvement of harbors and rivers; and, also, for continuing and repairing the Cumberland road, and certain Territorial roads.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums of money be, and the same are hereby appropriated for carrying on or completing certain works and roads heretofore commenced, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

For carrying on the Delaware breakwater, two hundred and seventy thousand dollars.

For removing a sand bar at the mouth of Black river, Ohio, two thousand four hundred dollars.

For a pier head at Cunningham creek, Ohio, five hundred dollars.

For completing the removal of obstructions at the mouth of Ashtabula creek, Ohio, three thousand four hundred dollars.

For completing the improvement of the harbor of Presque Isle, Pennsylvania, six thousand dollars.

For completing the pier at the mouth of Buffalo harbor, New York, thirty-one thousand seven hundred dollars.

For improving the entrance of Gennessee river, New York, fifteen thousand dollars.

For removing obstructions at the mouth of Big Sodus bay, New York, fifteen thousand dollars.

For completing the pier and mole at Oswego, New York, eight thousand four hundred dollars.

For the completion of the break water at the mouth of the Merrimack river, four thousand nine hundred dollars.

For repairing Plymouth Beach, six hundred dollars.

For the breakwater at Hyannis, Massachusetts, five thousand dollars.

For improving the harbors of New Castle, Marcus Hook, Chester, and Port Penn, on the Delaware, four thousand dollars.

For carrying on the improvement of Ocracocke Inlet, North Carolina, sixteen thousand seven hundred dollars.

For improving Cape Fear river, below Wilmington, North Carolina, twenty-eight thousand dollars.

For improving the navigation of the Ohio, Missouri and Mississippi rivers, fifty thousand dollars.

For continuing the road from Detroit to Saganaw bay, fifteen thousand dollars.

For completing the improvement of St. Marks river and harbor in Florida, in addition to the unexpended balance of former appropriations, one thousand five hundred dollars.

For the road from Detroit to Grand River of Lake Michigan, twenty-five thousand dollars.

For continuing the road from Detroit towards Chicago, in the Territory of Michigan, eight thousand dollars.

For paying the balance due the commissioner for surveying and making the road from La Plaisance bay to intersect the road to Chicago, within the Territory of Michigan, six hundred and eight dollars and seventy-six cents.

For making the said road, fifteen thousand dollars.

For completing the improvement of the inland channel between St. Mary's and St. Johns, in Florida, nine thousand dollars.

For the completion of the removal of obstructions in the harbor and river Appilachicola, in Florida, according to the report and estimate of the engineer, Lieutenant Long, eight thousand seven hundred dollars, including the unexpended appropriation of last year.

For repairing the Cumberland road east of the Ohio, one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

For continuing the Cumberland road in Ohio west of Zanesville, one hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

For continuing the Cumberland road in the State of Indiana, one hundred thousand dollars.

For continuing the Cumberland road in Illinois, seventy thousand dollars.

For repairs of the Cumberland road in Virginia thirty-four thousand four hundred and forty dollars.

For payment of a balance due the commissioner under the act of third March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty five, for marking out a road to the confines of New Mexico, one thousand five hundred and four dollars and fifty-four cents.

For defraying the expenses incidental to making examinations and surveys under the act of the thirtieth of April, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, twenty-five thousand dollars.

For payment of balance due Joseph C. Brown, for running the western boundary of the State of Missouri, one hundred and forty dollars.

Sec. 2 *And be it further enacted,* That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, authorized by and with the approbation of the President of the United States to change the location of the route of the Cumberland road, near Cumberland and Wills' mountain, according to the survey and report thereon of Captain Delafield, of the corps of Engineers.

Approved, March 2. 1833

No. 33.

AN ACT making appropriations for the Public Buildings, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of completing the buildings of the Penitentiary, its support, the purchase of raw materials to be manufactured by the convicts, and as compensation to Thomas Carberry, who is hereby allowed one thousand dollars for his services in planning and superintending the erection of the Penitentiary, the sum of fifteen thousand four hundred and thirty six dollars, is hereby appropriated to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the following sums be, and hereby are appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the following purposes, that is to say:

For dressing and laying the stone, procured for paving the terrace of the capitol, seven thousand dollars.

For enclosing and improving the public ground north of the capitol, two thousand dollars.

For a pedestal wall, coping, railing and footway at the north front of the President's House, ten thousand dollars.

For improving the capitol square, including the gardner's salary, and lightning the lamps, two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

For completing the graduations of the ground and planting, South of the President's House, four thousand six hundred and fifty dollars.

For alterations and repairs in the capitol, one thousand dollars.

For alterations and repairs in the President's House, five hundred dolls.

For constructing reservoirs & fountains at the public offices, and President's House, and enclosing and planting the fountain square, six thousand seven hundred & twenty-three dollars.

For keeping in repair the fire engines belonging to the public buildings, two hundred dollars.

For furnishing the President's House, to be expended under the direction of the President, in addition to the proceeds of such decayed furniture, he may direct to be sold, twenty thousand dollars.

For an additional payment for the Statue of Washington, five thousand dollars.

For alterations in the Representatives Hall, to accomodate the twenty-third Congress, according to a plan recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Representatives of thirtieth June, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, thirteen thousand dollars.

For completing the public vault, and railing thereon, one thousand dollars.

Approved, March, 2, 1833.

No. 34.

AN ACT for the construction of a road from the Mississippi river to William Strong's, on the St. Francis river in the Territory of Arkansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be the same is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the purpose of enabling the President of the United States to cause to be permanently constructed a road in the Territory of Arkansas from a point opposite to Memphis, to the house of William Strong, on the St. Francis river, or towards such point on the same as the Engineer appointed to report thereupon may recommend, for the purpose of establishing a constant communication from the point above named, towards Little Rock, in the said Territory: *Provided,* That the said sum be expended under the direction of such military engineer as the President may appoint: *And provided, also,* That no part of the said sum of money shall be expended until a careful survey and estimate shall have been made of the cost of the road by a competent engineer, and that the said survey and estimate shall have been previously submitted to, and approved by, the Secretary of War, and the President of the United States.

Approved, March 4, 1833.

NEW GOODS.

The subscriber is now receiving, and opening, his assortment of

SPRING & SUMMER
GOODS.

THEY were purchased in New York and Philadelphia, from the latest importations with great care, and entirely for CASH, they will be sold at a small profit, for cash, or to punctual dealers on the usual credit: his assortment will consist of

DRY-GOODS,
GROCERIES,
HARD-WARE,
CUTLERY,

and every other article generally kept in his line of business; which together with his stock previously on hand, will make his assortment complete.

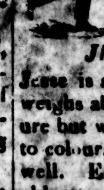
His friends, and the public generally, are respectfully invited to call, examine and judge for themselves.

COTTON, BEES-WAX,
TALLOW, WOOL,
IRON, TOW-LINEN,
FLAX-SEED,

And nearly all kinds of country produce, will be taken in exchange for goods.

7t79 SAMUEL HARGRAVE.
Lexington, N. C. April 20th 1833.

25 DOLLARS REWARD.



RANAWAY from the subscriber, at his residence in Randolph County, N. C., on the 8th instant, Two young negro men, viz:

JESSE & ELIJAH;

Jesse is about twenty two years old—weighs about 140 pounds, of low stature but well made, is of a dark mulatto colour, and can read print tolerably well. Elijah is about eighteen years old, spare made, is rather inclined to be slender built and his lips project rather beyond the proper length. He had on when he left a half worn chip hat and thin homespun apparel.

They are intelligent smart fellows, and will no doubt try to pass as free men under the name of Waldon, Evans, or Chavior; they are both mixed with Indian.

The above reward will be given for the apprehension and confinement of said negroes in any jail so that I get them again, or, twelve dollars and fifty cents for either. 6t77

J. K. ARMISTEAD.
Moffit's Mills P. O.
Randolph Co. N. C. Apl. 6, 1833.

NEW GOODS.

Alexander & Cowan,

Are now receiving and opening, at Amboy, (11 miles North-East of Statesville, on Rocky Creek,) a general assortment of

Fresh and Seasonable
GOODS,

CONSISTING of almost every article usually kept in Stores; all of which were selected with great care by W. F. Cowan in New York and Philadelphia, at the *lowest cash prices*; and which they will sell very low for cash, or to punctual dealers on the usual credit.

They would assure their friends, and the public, that they will sell every article as low as the same can be had in Statesville, or any of the neighboring towns. Cotton, Flaxseed, Feathers, Beeswax, Tallow, &c., will be received in exchange.

They would beg leave to return their most sincere thanks for that liberal share of public patronage given them in Statesville, and hope by close attention and fair dealing to merit a continuance of the same at their new stand.

All those indebted to them will please call as soon as possible at the counting room of their old stand, (where W. F. Cowan will generally be found, or during his absence some other person,) and close their accounts by CASH; what they can, and notes for balance.

Those who may prefer it, can by giving notes with undoubted security, have one, two, and three years to pay the same, the notes bearing interest from date. 3t7[illegible]

April 25 1833.

PRINTING OFFICE
FOR SALE.

THE subscriber offers for sale the whole of his PRINTING MATERIALS now in Washington. They consist of upwards of twenty different founts of type from Brevier to eight line Pica; an excellent press; flowers, rules, leads, cases, chases, &c. &c. with appurtenances complete for carrying on the business. They are all in good order, and some of the type is but little worn.

The paper at present issued from the office, has as good a patronage as any ever published in this place. To a person of industrious habits, acquainted with the business, and desirous of locating in this section of country, a desirable opportunity is now offered. A wish to engage in other pursuits, elsewhere, alone induces the present proprietor to dispose of the establishment.

The whole, if speedily applied for, may be had a bargain. GEO. HOUSTON, Jr.
Editor of the Union.

Washington, N. C. March 29th 1833.

SALISBURY MALE ACADEMY.

THIS institution will open under the superintendence of myself and brother on Wednesday, the first day of May next. Having had considerable experience, as a teacher, and intending to prosecute the business of tuition with unabated zeal, I respectfully solicit a share of the patronage of the country.

The year will be divided into two sessions of five months each. All accounts must be closed at the end of each session.

The following are the terms of tuition per session:

Reading, Writing and Arithmetic with the first rudiments of English Grammar, $6
English Grammar and Geography, $9
Languages and Sciences, $12

Students can enter at any time, but cannot withdraw except at the end of a session, unless prevented from attendance by sickness.

P. J. SPARROW, *Principal.*
T. W. SPARROW.

N. B. Boarding can be obtained in respectable families. I am authorized to state that Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Howard will each take as many as eight boarders. 6t77

New Tailor Shop
IN LEXINGTON N. C.
Mr. Theophilus M. Simpson

MOST respectfully informs his friends, & the public at large, that he is now carrying on the Tailoring Business, in all its various branches in the town of Lexington, N. C. in the shop East of the Court House, formerly occupied by P. Fowler.

He regularly receives the latest New York and Philadelphia fashions, which will enable him to make any gentleman

A fashionable suit of Clothes,

on short notice, and in a superior style of workmanship. He hopes by assiduous attention to business to merit a share of public patronage.

April 12 1833. 7ttf

Department of State,
March 20, 1833.

A RESOLUTION of the Senate has called on the Secretary of State to obtain statistical information which is comprehended in certain circular addresses made some time since to the Governor's of the different States, and the county and township officers, by this Department. The queries contained in these circulars, being answered in but comparatively few instances, the persons to whom they have been addressed, are earnestly requested to forward their answers without delay.

The printers of the laws of the United States, are requested to give this notice six insertions in their respective papers.

Blank Deeds,

OF every description, neatly Printed, and constantly for sale at this office.

ENTERTAINMENT.
WHITFIELD KERR

TAKES this method of informing his friends & the public generally, that he has moved to his new house on Centre Street, in the Town of Statesville, North Carolina, a few doors south of the Court-House, where he hopes to share largely of the public patronage. He promises that no exertions shall be omitted to make his guests comfortable. His stables are entirely new, large and commodious.

The Post-Office is kept at the above house. 3t73

Statesville, N. C. April 15, 1833.

Dissolution of Copartnership.

THE Copartnership heretofore existing between Dr. John Scott & A. W. Brandon at the town of Wadesborough, under the firm of Brandon and Scott, was dissolved by mutual consent, on the 1st day of April last. All persons indebted to said firm are required to make payment to A. W. Brandon at Wadesborough, who is authorised to settle the business of the concern. JOHN SCOTT.
3t74 A. W. BRANDON.

April 12th. 1833.

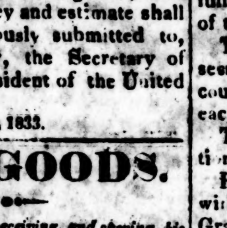
BENJAMIN FRALEY
TAILOR,

HAVING removed to the house formerly occupied by Samuel Fraley, as a confectionary shop, a few doors above Mr. Slaughter's Tavern, where he is prepared to accommodate all those who may favor him with their patronage. He has just received from New-York and Philadelphia, the latest fashions, as imported from Paris, and London, and having a good number of first rate workmen, in his employ, he will do work on the shortest notice—cut and made in a superior style to any in this part of the country, and warranted to fit well. All kinds of cutting will be done on the shortest notice. All orders for work, from a distance, will be promptly attended to.

Being an Agent for the patent-right cutting for Seguze, or Wilson, of New York, and also for A. Ward, of Philadelphia, he will instruct any Tailor, that may want instruction in cutting clothing.

He returns his sincere thanks to his friends and the public generally, for the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and hopes to merit it further, by a strict attention to business.
30tf B. F.

THE THOROUGH BRED HORSE
RIOT,



WILL stand the ensuing season at Beatties Ford, Lincoln County. He was gotten by the justly Celebrated RACE HORSE and breeder old Sir Archie: His dam, a fine blooded mare—her pedigree can be traced to many of the most distinguished racers of the day. As to Sir Archie, his reputation, and that of his colts, and their descendants, are so well established, that it is scarcely necessary to say any thing at the present day, as they have been among the most successful distance horses, in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, for the last fifteen years.

RIOT,

Is a handsome bay, five feet three inches high—four years old next spring. It is thought that he will make a good breeder: as his form and blood are both good. Particulars made known in due time. 5t
H. G. BURTON.
R. A. BURTON.

December 31st 1832.

CHARLESTON and CHERAW
THE STEAM BOAT MACON

CAPT. J. C. GRAHAM having been engaged last summer in running between Charleston and Cheraw calling at Geo. Town on her way up and down, will resume her Trips in the course of a few days and is intended to be continued in the trade the ensuing season.

Her exceeding light draft of Water, drawing when loaded only about four and a half feet water will enable her to reach Cheraw at all times except, an uncommon low river, when her cargo will be lightened at the Expence of Boat.

J. B. CLOGH.
Charleston Sept 26, 1831.

N. B. She has comfortable accommodations for a few passengers. 9tf
J. B. C.

NOTICE TO DEBTORS.

ALL persons indebted to the Estate of Robert Bradshaw, dec'd, are requested to come forward, and make settlement by May Court. Those who fail to comply with the notice, may expect to settle with an officer. 7ttf

ROBERT N. CRAIGE } Ex'rs.
ROBT. BRADSHAW }

NEW BINDERY.

WITH a view to the more efficient prosecution of their business, the Subscribers have established a

BOOK-BINDERY.

Having procured the best Materials from the North, and employed a Workman who comes well recommended, they are prepared to execute on moderate terms all orders in this line.

Account Books, Records, &c. ruled and made to order: and every kind of Binding promptly executed in the best and neatest manner, on reasonable terms.
36 J. GALES & SON.
Raleigh, Aug.